

6 Emergence of Nationalism

188 The city [Kiev—Kyiv]⁶ and the surrounding country are, in fact,
 ●184 Little Russian rather than Great Russian, and between these two sections of the population there are profound differences—differences of language, costume, traditions, popular songs, proverbs, folk-lore, domestic arrangements, mode of life, and Communal organization. In these and other respects the Little Russians, South Russians, Ruthenes, or Khokhly, as they are variously designated, differ from the Great Russians of the North, who form the predominant factor in the Empire, and who have given to that wonderful structure its essential characteristics. Indeed, if I did not fear to ruffle unnecessarily the patriotic susceptibilities of my Great Russian friends who have a pet theory on this subject, I should say that we have here two distinct nationalities, further apart from each other than the English and the Scotch. The differences are due, I believe, partly to ethnographical peculiarities and partly to historical conditions.⁷

197 As Wallace observed, linguistic differences between the Ukrain-
 186 ians and Russians were significant. The factor of language has indeed been used very frequently as the decisive criterion for distinguishing the two ethnic groups.⁸ During the nineteenth century a distinctive, though still evolving, Ukrainian literary language arose based on the speech prevalent among the peasantry. This speech is a member of the East Slavic linguistic group and therefore is closer to Russian than to any other major language, although Russian is not readily understood by most of the peasants. Russian was already established as the literary language of the East Ukraine before literary Ukrainian became prominent, however, and it continued to be familiar to nearly all educated Ukrainians in the Soviet Union.

⁶ The second form is the Ukrainian. Usually the place names cited in this study are given in the forms generally used by the power which since 1945 has controlled the area in which they are located. This means that places now in the USSR are designated by the Russian forms, and the few now in Poland by Polish forms. Where the Ukrainian name is different, it is given in parentheses after the first citation. In a few cases (especially rivers) where another form is already familiar to the English reader, this practice has not been followed, and in the case of the city of Mariupol' (Mariupil'), which has recently been renamed Zhdanov, the old name has been used.

⁷ Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, *Russia* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1905), p. 347.

⁸ In this study this general usage of referring to those who speak Ukrainian as their native tongue as "Ukrainians" has been followed, although it should be constantly kept in mind that use of the language in childhood does not necessarily imply a belief in Ukrainian independence, or even a consciousness of national distinctiveness.

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or Poland, because before 1905 opposition to the Russian Government was less marked. Besides, many Russian Liberals, even of official position, treated the Ukrainian movement as an interesting variation of Russian life. 177

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The class divisions into titled aristocracy, nobles, townsmen, merchants, and peasants, existed as in other parts of the Russian Empire, but, roughly speaking, a different ethnic element corresponded to each social division. The titled aristocracy was mainly Polish in the western parts (with the name Polish Ukrainians) and Russian in the eastern. With but few exceptions, the same could be said of the class of landed nobles, in which the Great Russians formed the majority; Poles, Germans and others were the minority. The Ukrainian landed noble was almost unknown; and the townsmen of the large towns were also in a great majority non-Ukrainian, being chiefly Great Russians and Jews (in Berdichev the Jews form 78.4 per cent. of the population; in Yekaterinoslav, 40 per cent.), and, in the western Ukraine, Russian, Polish, German, Greek, &c. The Jews were mainly traders and shopkeepers, while the Great Russians and the foreigners were manufacturers. 565
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But few of the Ukrainian *intelligentsia* took part in the industrial life of the country, about one-third of them belonging to the professional classes, i. e. doctors, Government officials, lawyers, and teachers. The Ukrainian professional classes originated from the ex-Cossacks and the townsmen rather than from the peasants, since there is a great distinction between the peasants and other members of the community. The Ukrainian nobles, it must be remembered, have in most cases become russified, and partly also polonized. The distinction between the peasant and other classes is not based on economic grounds, for some peasants in the Ukraine are very rich. It lies chiefly in their cultural condition, in their education, or rather lack 565
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ideals of the *intelligentsia*, if the latter cannot provide¹⁸⁶ them with the economic advantages to which they⁵⁶⁵ aspire.

The *Ukrainian territory* claimed by the propagandist literature, i. e. from San to Don, never formed a political unit, either independently or under the sway of any empire. It is a well-defined geographical unit with most favourable economic conditions, but the people living in these lands do not form a homogeneous nation of one linguistic, social, and cultural type. The essentially Ukrainian country lies on both sides of the Dnieper. In the Don and Kuban regions, the Ukrainian colonists were preceded by the Great-Russian colonists, in Eastern Galicia by the Poles. But it is true that during the time of the greatest Russian oppression Eastern Galicia played the part of Piedmont for the *intelligentsia* from the Russian Ukraine. The nine^[162] Governments grouped by the Russian Administration into (1) South-west Territory (Podolia, Volhynia, and Kiev), (2) Malorossiya (Chernigov, Poltava, and Kharkov), and (3) Novorossiya (only Kherson, Taurida, and Yekaterinoslav out of the five Governments of Novorossiya), have a population which is preponderantly Ukrainian in the rural districts; in the towns the Ukrainians are outnumbered by Jews, Russians, Poles, Greeks, Germans, Italians, &c.

It is remarkable how small a part is played by the¹⁸⁴ *intelligentsia* in industry and trade, in the Church, and⁵⁶⁵ in legal and educational institutions. All Ukrainians are agriculturists, but in most cases they are merely labourers, not concerned with the management of agricultural industries. Since 1905, however, the co-operative societies have brought to the Ukrainian peasant the social education which the *mir* gave to the Great-Russian peasant in the two last centuries. The claim, therefore, that these nine Governments are Ukrainian means that people speaking various Ukrainian dialects and having similar customs inhabit them, though, so far, they have not managed it politically, socially, or culturally, and are hardly likely to do

- 565 so efficiently without the help of educated foreigners
● 184 for some generations to come.

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The Ukraine and Great Russia.—The future of the Ukraine affects Great Russia in the first instance. If the Ukraine is permanently severed from Great Russia, the latter will have to limit itself to the 'Moscow-Siberian' Empire, for it is hardly likely that any other native states formed within the limits of the former Russian Empire (Azerbaijan, Esthonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, the North Caucasian Republic, White Russia) would then belong to her. There seems to be a similarity between these states and the Ukraine, in that they all refuse to recognize Russian suzerainty, though they may possibly join Russia as states with equal rights. The Ukraine is the largest and richest of these states, so that she might play a determining part in their negotiation with Great Russia if she produces the necessary statesman. On the other hand, small as these other states are, they are more homogeneous ethnically and more advanced culturally than the Ukraine, and are able, with the exception of White Russia, to carry on political and economic affairs by themselves.

The Ukraine and Poland.—Poland and the Ukraine are neighbours who supplement each other in the economic sphere; and Poland has many men of education and enterprise. But good relations depend largely on the issue of the political conflict within the Ukraine. The Ukrainian nationalists claim Galicia as far as the River San, while the Poles, especially the Galician Poles, claim it all for Poland. The ethnic boundary is roughly along the River Bug. In the Eastern Galician problem lies the most serious danger of quarrel.

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The next interest of Poland is in her minorities in Volhynia, Podolia, and Kiev. They consist of noble landowners or professionals in the towns, some of them men whose families have lived there for the last four or five centuries. The reverse is the case of the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia. The Polish minorities in the Russian Ukraine are much smaller, but in

716 appeased, exorcised. When the priest of Velykyi Lypnyk consecrates the water of the village brook on the sixth of January, the people believe that the demons are thus driven away.

326 The men of Velykyi Lypnyk are tinkers, a
221 trade which in many places has a bad flavor. It is easy to say that they travel about the country like gypsies. But even though they wander from village to village, a small bundle of tools on their backs, repairing stoves and mending pots, they are, nevertheless, not homeless. As soon as spring comes, poverty drives them out on the road, and only late in the fall when the first white flakes begin to fall, they return to their wives and children with the few groschen they have saved.

241 For land is scarce, the clod of earth small, the soil is poor and the climate harsh.¹ The women work like drudges for their bit of barley bread and potatoes. With their small cows and a wooden plough they till the lower slopes of the mountain ridges. They sow by hand, harrow, and in the fall they cut off the barely ripe ears of grain with a sickle.

286 In their "spare time" these women² with their
291 strangely narrow faces sit barefoot in their full pleated skirts and pale pink blouses, a charming little cap on their heads, at their looms and tirelessly ply their shuttle back and forth between the taut threads, or press wool into felt for the jackets and trousers of their husbands.

342 The rooms of these "tinkers"² are surprisingly large and clean; the kitchen, living room, /10/ bedroom and work room are all in one. The whole structure with adjoining stable and wagon shed is built of wood, the inside unfinished, the outside covered with loam. In order that there be no lack
[289] of magic, carpenters carve three suns into the central roof beam.

• 84 How rich these "tinkers" of East Slovakia were with their little plot of free earth, their two or three cows, their barley bread and their loom, compared to their brothers in Carpatho-

[In the village of Velykyi Lypnyk, Western Ukraine - Analyst]

- 184 Ukraine, to the small farmers in the Polish Ukraine, helpless and oppressed by the Poles, to the Soviet Ukrainians working in factories or on collective farms, or even to the exiles! They all speak the same language, albeit in different dialects, they write the same Cyrillic script, regard the good fortune of one among them as a common possession, while the misfortune that strikes one is felt by all.
- 101 The thousand souls of Velykyi Lypnyk belong to the westernmost tribe of Ukrainians, the Lemki.
- 191 They speak a Slovakian-Ukrainian border dialect. Ukrainian scholars maintain that the Ukrainian settlements formerly reached almost to Cracow, but that the Lemki were pushed back into the mountains by the Poles in the North and the Slovaks in the South. Until the collapse of Poland a bitter nationality fight went on for this small spearhead, especially on the part of Poland, and in the process the Lemki, as the weaker ones, were obliged to yield step by step. The Magyars, no less than the Poles, oppressed the Ukrainian neighboring tribes of Boyki and Huzul and even more than the Slovaks oppressed the Lemki. The Magyar clergy added close to 160,000 Ukrainian souls to their ethnic group. In the census the word "Magyar" stands under the heading of "nationality", and "Greek Orthodox" under the heading of "religion". They are the denationalized Ukrainians who have, for the present, still remained true to their faith. All this began when, at the /11/ end of the last century, the Magyar clergy introduced Magyar hymns, and when in 1912 the Bishop of Haydudorog invented and decreed a Hungarian liturgy in place of the Old Slavic one. (1)

1. The Ukraine and the Church Union,
page 33.

2 [The Carpatho-, Polish-, Soviet-, and East
Slovakian Ukrainians - Analysis]

798 collapse seemed inevitable when in 1595 seven Orthodox bishops had approved the Brest Union in principle. But Polish-Jesuit intolerance, unfulfilled promises and disregard of the rights of those who were ready to enter the union made some of the bishops mistrustful and again estranged them. The arrogance with which the Catholic party treated the Orthodox, their public mockery, indeed even maltreatment of the Orthodox priests at that time, caused a chasm so great that to this day it has not been bridged over. At the same time, those who were already Uniates were not much better off. Their "complete equality" with Polish citizens and the Catholic clergy remained an empty promise which it was not in the power of the Uniat bishops to enforce. If the lower priests did not belong to the nobility "they were often seen in torn clothing walking along, whip in hand, beside their horses and oxen, furnishing relays for the state or performing compulsory services as serfs to their master." (57)

57. The Ukraine and the Church Union,
page 24.

Conditions in the Uniat church improved in those regions that had come under Austrian rule after the partitioning of Poland, whereas in congressional Poland a ukase of the Czar again forcefully opened up the Orthodox heaven to the Uniates. With Peter the Great, who in 1721 had transferred the rights of the patriarchy of Moscow to the Holy Synod, the Czar had become the head of the Orthodox Church.

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795 Since the serious crisis of Orthodoxy in the 15th and 16th /107/ century, the opportunity for a reunion of both churches has never been as favorable as it is at present. The "defender of all Orthodox believers" is dead. The Synod in Moscow as well as the Ukrainian church, which
[i.e., Catholic-orthodox - Analyse]

184 became autocephalous during the Revolution,
795 have dissolved. In the wide realm of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics there is no visible ecclesiastical authority whatsoever. No one knows how many priests are secretly carrying on their duties. Churches are closed and have been transformed into "godless museums" or clubs. East Rome is without power and without priests.

648 It was said of Pius XI: "The Holy Father
795 is much concerned about the re-unification of the East. It may be said that he has made this the goal of his life." (58) Pius XII, as may be

50. The Ukraine and the Church Union,
page 38.

seen by the honor bestowed on Vladimir, cherishes the same plans.

But the Soviet Union remained closed to the emissaries of the Vatican. Everything was done that could be done. In 1918 the Vatican hastened to send an ambassador to Kiyev. But before he arrived the addressee of the credentials, Hetman Skoropadsky, was already fleeing to the West. In 1922 to 1923 papal aid to the starving is supposed to "prepare the ground" for the seed which none other but Nuntius Pacelli scattered when in all secrecy in Berlin, he consecrated a Jesuit organizer as bishop of this charitable work; the Jesuit who is passing through must be consecrated secretly, in order that the Bolsheviks do not become suspicious and that the "simple" father who is apparently only concerned about apportioning the food that is handed out, can unostentatiously appoint five bishops. In this manner the first Catholic prelates are installed in the Ukraine. How often they have made use of their sacred powers and how many Catholic bishops and priests there are today in Soviet Ukraine is not known even in the Vatican.

174 Ivan Kalita destroyed the power of the nobility and therewith laid the foundation for Muscovite despotism. A further example of historically proved contrariety is furnished during the time of Ivan the Terrible. The most sinister force rules at that time in Moscow, while in the Ukraine the Cossacks are preparing to found the freest state that probably ever existed in East Europe.

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●184 Among the Ukrainians there are, in turn, tribal differences. The inhabitants of the dark forest region of Podlakhia and Polesia, who are obliged to wrest all fruits from the earth, can scarcely be as gay as those of the sunny spaces of the south. Those are melancholy and oppressed people who up there carry on the struggle for existence. Farther south, from the fertile hills of Pcdolia way over to the foothills of the Caucasus, there are fields of golden grain, fruit grows of its own accord, the sky is blue for many months, and on the Kuban there is paradise itself. Cheerful, candid people live here.

181 The Ukrainians are a peasant people and more than 90% of all children first see the light of the world through the small window-panes of a straw- or shingle-covered cottage. They are peasant souls - that is, quiet, good-natured, placid human beings who cling to the sod, to their own farm, who want to plow, sow and reap. They are poor, but honest and at the same time hospitable and positively ceremonially polite. People like to call them "Southerners" because of their cheerful disposition and their humor. They love that contemplative life which /132/ is hard to combine with constant hard work. It has not been a blessing to the Ukrainian that the soil yields richly and effortlessly, that his daily bread need not be obtained amid constant toil and hardships. If that were the case, perhaps he